000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time 175 648 of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (5), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the [439] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made 175 ● 726 prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several

175 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass
726 (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

175 Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405):
648 "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokrẽ-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikrẽ, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Woudó; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadó village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwaná of Dozaháka village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

114 A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention.
175 According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted
648 a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

177 From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration 797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

164 The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced largely by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced [114] prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [165] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [731] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [178] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

177 The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people [821] knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost [731] nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [726] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

177 of the Tampiitáua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

Chap[illegible] 4

[100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the 171 535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuf, that is, jacuf [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, [114] 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koaháalu among the former and hũvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
●[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papaneká (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the neighboring forest had been invented by Anavaní, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneá" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house, other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

[102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, another spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

536 726 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All [177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned [535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which 191 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

609 773 The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these neighbors[1] seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

[1] [i.e., the Kayapó.--Analyst]

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
175 past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
726 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the
following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-
Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽku-
bengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between
their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the
middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] ex-
plain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in
a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18
and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural
traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many
as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the
remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed
out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a
result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this para-
graph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not
only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but
[731] were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is
[554] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became ap-
parent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various vil-
lages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present popu-
lation of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed
their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the informa-
tion in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
[578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antago-
nisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, al-
though they were seldom recalled.

171 411 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

411 [726] [578] In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of 411 535 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only exceptionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Furthermore, [721] when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of 411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and [137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried [683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

114 411 [439] [171] The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina, "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find the terms ibiráhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the [535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their 171 dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-411 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí) described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 858 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioló.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171 I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, asschildren here so commonly do, the

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications • [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

648 been explored by the Whites nevertheless has its owners. Those owners, that is, the Indians, do not as a rule overstep the boundaries of their own territory and strictly respect adjoining areas unless they intend to make war or to trade. Since ethnocentrism is the very human tendency to regard all things exclusively from the standpoint of one's own people, as though, with their concepts, they were the center of the world, it is not surprising that what seems "raw" to us often is not so to men of another culture. This attitude leads people of limited intellectual horizons, such as the frontiersmen, to regard the differences between themselves and the Indians as so enormous that the latter do not seem to be "people." Taking this as a premise, they act with impeccable logic when they conclude that the land of the aborigines is untenanted. And the authorities who ratify this conclusion prove themselves equally ethnocentric.

Far be it from me to depict the inhabitants of the Tapirapé River as furious invaders. They are humble people, movingly naive, who represent what is conventionally called "good people." It seems that it is not only for reasons of numerical inferiority that they seek peace with the Indians by treating them with kindness. In spite of this, of course, shocks are unavoidable. There are encounters where no blood is shed. Economic interests are met in the hunting and fishing zone of the Tapirapé, and the latter are deprived of protein. The interests which spread gonorrhea among the Karajá [Caraja] are of a different sort. In both cases, however, the Indians concerned are so pleasant that these encounters, in spite of their baleful consequences for the tribes concerned, are at worst "mild shocks" to the frontiersmen as compared with those they suffered from Indians of quite a different temper, namely, the Kaiapó and Chavante.

These Chavante and Kaiapó are Gê Indians, that is, they belong to the large group of tribes that offered greater resistance and gave greater frights to the White intruders than most other Brazilian Indians. They usually find the clash of solid clubs preferable to idle talk. [101] Tapirapé territory is wedged in between them. The northern Kaiapó are feared more than the Chavante, and in fact the number of their victims is larger than that of the strangers who lost their lives in [726] Chavante territory. Furthermore, the Kaiapó not only march on the Araguaia to do away with the frontiersmen and their houses, but also march south and attack Tampiitáua, as I shall mention later.

648 [342] Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and "wild banana" leaves, a sturdy protection against heat, cold, and rain, are worth nothing in the eyes of those who own earthen walls. The language which they do not understand seems as ugly to them as all the strange customs seem ridiculous or horrifying, be they facial painting, masked dances, or the practices of the sorcerers--medicine men. This does not prevent them from being no less "primitive" than the Indians in certain aspects of their material culture. In Pôrto Velho, for example, a family from Conceição used a tree trunk with hollowed-out steps as a ladder, thus resembling in this respect the Oiampi [Oyampi] Indians of Guiana who reach their raised houses by similar contraptions.

Retreating before the White intruders with the transfer of 726 Tampiitáua, the Tapirapé fell once more into the hands of that neighbor who has probably been for centuries the Number One enemy of their tribe. In 1935 they had already shown their fear openly at night, asking me not to let go of my revolver when I lay down in my net so as to be ready to defend them from the Kaiapó, who [142] had attacked and destroyed another village of theirs three years earlier and killed most of its inhabitants. When I reached Pôrto Velho last July, the same preoccupation had seized the frontiersmen. They spoke of the nearness of the Kaiapó in the same terms as it had been mentioned 12 years earlier in Tampiitáua. These rumors were confirmed by the presence of three families who had come from the plains near Conceição do Araguaia. They said that they had left it only out of fear of those Indians, who had killed seven persons in the previous year.

Unfortunately, the expected danger was not imaginary. A few weeks after our last visit, the Kaiapó attacked Tampiitáua. Details [115] of this tragic occurrence are related in a letter I received from Father [648] M. H. Lelong (1). In it we read that the village was sacked and burned [727]

1. Conceição do Araguaia, 11 October 1947

Dear Professor:

I am the Frenchman you met on the Araguaia as you went up from the Tapirapé toward Leopoldina.

I know how interested you were in this small group of attractive Indians, and thus, after arriving at Conceição the day before yesterday, I hasten to send you the news, which is very sad.

726

During the last days of August, Cayapo warriors--Gorotirés evidently--attacked the Tapirapé village while all the men were at Lake Tucunaré. Only the women, children, and the old man Camaraé were left. They killed two women and a young girl: Eirôa, wife of Tampiri, Amoou, wife of Perera, and Tamamãtchoa, and abducted a woman, a young girl, and a small boy: Iparénahí, wife of Camaraé, Amarai, daughter of Pereira, and Uãcuré, son of Eirôa (please excuse the transcription of these Tupy [Tupi] words). The old man shot his arrows, and the Cayapo "braves" fled after burning down two houses.

[648] 727

Father Palha and I found the frightened population at Pôrto Velho, where they had sought refuge, lacking everything, hungry, disheartened. In short, a heart-rending sight similar to what I have seen in Europe. We convinced the Tapirapés to go to their village. The women were afraid and tried to dissuade the men. Seven left with us, and four stuck it out to the end. We found this charming little village, which you were the last to visit along with Dr. Haroldo, savagely looted. We brought back the cudgels that were used in the slaughter. I shall describe them to you and give you many other details of this event. The Cayapos had returned that very morning to continue the looting. Unfortunately, we did not come upon them. We remained one day and one night. The three Tapirapés took up a load of cotton and flour (they have no more hammocks and suffer a great deal) and set fire to their village to prevent the enemy from utilizing it further. It was rather tragic. We returned to Pôrto Velho. They intend to settle a few leagues from São João. I saw the large plots of these good, industrious, peaceful

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To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of